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Synopsis: In his keynote address on 13 June 1951 before the Seventh Conference of the SED Central Committee, the Party's Secretary General and Deputy Minister President of the DDR, Walter Ulbricht, dwelt on the dangers of renascent German imperialism which, he claimed, is being fostered by the leadership of the bourgeois parties and of the SPD. On the same day, the leading theoretician of the SED, Politbüro member Fred Oelssner, and State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Anton Ackermann, went over much the same ground.

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1. A comparison between Ulbricht's address before the DDR People's Chamber on 9 May 1951, in which he spoke about the rise of German imperialism in the Ruhr and Ruhr areas, and his address before the Central Committee on 13 June, reflects a considerable evolution in Communist thinking regarding the threat posed by German imperialism. On 9 May Ulbricht dealt with the specter of German militarization in Western Germany, which he described as an "obvious German contribution to the world power interests of predatory American monopolists". He argued that the honor of the German nation requires that it shall not permit itself to be abused for the egotistical interests of American armament millionaires. In Communist terminology, the so-called principal enemy connoted American imperialism. On 13 June, however, the principal enemies are represented as American and German imperialism, two allied and yet distinct threats directed against the peace, not alone of Germany, but of all Europe, including all the western countries overrun by Nazi Germany during World War II.

2. That the distinguishing features in Ulbricht's two speeches in fact signify not a mere change in the propaganda and agitation line of the SED, but a politico-strategic move of greatest import, was openly admitted in a lecture given in mid-June 1951 before the assembled student body of the SED Karl Marx Academy by Anton Ackermann. Talking on the subject of "Strategy and Tactics", on which he is the acknowledged authority, Ackermann stated that up to the time of the meeting of the Central Committee, the principal enemy had been American imperialism. This had now been changed to German imperialism allied with American, with emphasis on the former. This shift, Ackermann stated, was a direct outgrowth of the existing situation in Western Germany. In line with Communist dogma, the so-called main thrust would, therefore, have to be aimed at those political factions which provide German imperialism with its

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popular support, i.e., against the Bonn government and all political parties supporting that government, and also against the SPD. [redacted] 25X1 whereas Ulbricht still refers to American imperialism as the principal enemy, with German imperialism as its main ally, Ackermann goes one step further. 25X1 This discrepancy, [redacted] resolves itself in light of the fact that the identification of the principal enemy and the aim of the main thrust are never discussed in public. They are, as Ackermann put it, topics neither for propaganda nor for agitation, nor should they at all be debated. *

3. As an explanation of the terms propaganda slogan, agitation slogan, and action slogan, Ackermann offered the following illustration: The slogan "Away with Adenauer" had for a long time been a propaganda slogan; some time ago it had been raised to the level of agitation slogan; soon it would be an action slogan. **

25X1 * [redacted] Comment: They divulge in substance the strategic planning of the Kremlin in the cold war.

25X1 ** [redacted] Comment: While this discourse may appear as merely another exercise in the employment of Party jargon, and while due allowance should be made for the Communist propensity to garb even their most trivial thoughts in the glittering 25X1 generalities of Marxian dialectics, a very significant strategic move and an implied admission of failure may be distilled from the body of the speeches here analyzed. [redacted]

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